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ABSTRACT

This fourth report of the Institute for the Study of Educational Policy examines the status of black Americans in higher education from 1970 to 1979, with special consideration to a discussion of a basis of parity which takes into account the rapid growth of the black population and to enrollment patterns in traditionally black institutions of higher education. Total undergraduate enrollments by race, sex and ethnicity, and total black enrollment by type and control of institution are examined. Also analyzed are graduate and professional school enrollments by race and ethnicity: percent differences and percent growth in full-time, first professional school enrollment by race and ethnicity for 1974, 1976 and 1978; and enrollments in law and medical schools by race, ethnicity and national origin. Data on degrees conferred are treated similarly. Tables describing the age structure of student populations by race, and tables describing the educational attainment of the population by age group and race are appended. Findings were reported to indicate a negative correlation between level of selectivity and lack of progress for blacks as evidenced by the disproportionately low enrollment of blacks in two year colleges as compared with four year colleges, and the greater losses and smaller gains of black enrollments in professional schools and doctoral programs in comparison to other levels of education. (JCD)

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FOURTH ISEP
STATUS REPORT

Equal Educational Opportunity Scoreboard

The Status of Black Americans In Higher Education, 1970–1979

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AUGUST 1981

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Foreword

During the executive directorship of Dr. Stephen Wright of the United Negro College Fund, a speech was given at its December 1968 meeting in which the idea of a National Commission on Higher Education for Negroes was broached together with the objectives that Blacks' percentage in higher education should be the same as their percentage of the college-going age group and that their educational opportunities "must be of equivalent quality to those available to white students." The speech was given by Dr. James A. Perkins, then President of Cornell University. The idea of the Commission reappeared in a substantially modified form in The Carnegie Commission report *From Isolation to Mainstream* (1971) as "a special subdivision for the development of black colleges and universities" in a National Foundation for Development of Higher Education which had previously been proposed in their *Quality and Equality* (1970) report. However, the earlier form of the idea was restated boldly and elaborately in a Task Force Report on A Commission on Higher Education for Blacks in February, 1973 to a major corporation and six foundations, including the Ford Foundation. The Task Force was chaired by Dr. Elias Blake, Jr., with Dr. Lewis Dowdy, Dr. Lionel Newsom, Ms. Lois Rice, Dr. Norvel Smith, and Dr. Kenneth S. Tollett serving as its other members. Although the corporation and five of the foundations had lost interest in the idea, Ford maintained its interest in the concept and provided a series of substantial grants to Howard University to establish the Institute for the Study of Educational Policy (ISEP) to carry out part of the agenda set forth in the Task Force Report on the Commission.

ISEP began on a small scale in March and on a full scale in October, 1974. The Institute's mandate is to act as a national clearinghouse for data and a research center on issues affecting equal opportunity for Blacks in higher education. As a research and policy center, ISEP has three program objectives:

> To prepare a periodic critical assessment of the dynamic status and needs of Blacks in higher education;
>
> To assess the impact of law and social science and other research and publications on the status of Blacks in higher education; and
>
> To use old models creatively and to develop new models and paradigms for the explication of the higher educational enterprise with implications for elementary and secondary education.

Through its reports, monographs, occasional papers, reprints, seminars, workshops, announcements and/or public testimony, ISEP seeks to fill a

vacuum in the organized body of knowledge on minority participation in higher education.

In pursuing its first program objective, to issue an annual or biennial report on the status and situation of Blacks in higher education, ISEP hopes to make a significant contribution to the formulation and evaluation of contemporary educational policy. A further hope is to assist the public and private sectors in responding to the social and economic factors which either facilitate or impede equal educational opportunity. The following Part One of the Fourth Status Report is issued in pursuit of this program objective.

Dr. Perkins' United Negro College Fund speech set forth two of the most important objectives for higher educational policy to pursue in relation to Blacks. This Report accepts both of those goals or objectives. Indeed, Dr. Perkins presciently recognized that parity between Blacks and whites should not be defined by the percentage of Black high school graduates going on to college, as some people have defined it. The two earlier reports of the Institute written by Dr. Elizabeth Abramowitz entitled *Equal Educational Opportunity for Blacks in U.S. Higher Education: An Assessment* (1976) and *Equal Educational Opportunity: More Promise Than Progress* (1978) stated that parity for access practically had been achieved if it were defined by the rate of attendance of high school graduates.

However, Dr. Lorenzo Morris in *Elusive Equality: The Status of Black Americans in Higher Education* (1979) and the *Third Status Report* (1980) indicated that a more realistic and policy-wise approach to racial parity was the age-group cohort. A major point of this Fourth Status Report is to explore succinctly this goal or objective, which Dr. Perkins articulated in 1968, and provide graphic and clear data for assessing the progress of Blacks generally in higher education in the 1970's.

This report is divided into six major parts. The first explores the population basis of parity and emphasizes that the college age cohort of 18 to 24 should be the basis for measuring parity not only because Blacks constitute a larger percentage of this age cohort than they do of the population in general, but also because it is a more desirable measure for parity since a maximum opportunity for self-actualization and societal productivity should be made available for all members of the age group cohort.

The second part discusses the enrollment of Blacks in traditionally Black institutions of higher education and points out that although these institutions' share of Blacks attending higher education has declined considerably, they nevertheless are a principal source of baccalaureate degrees for Blacks.

The third part discusses undergraduate enrollment and makes the point that Blacks are under-represented in four-year colleges, which is not the case in two-year community colleges.

The fourth section deals with graduate and professional school enrollment and shows that the encouraging progress of the late '60's and early '70's abated in the middle '70's and went into decline at the turn of the decade. Data are provided here as in the other sections on racial and ethnic groups other than Blacks. They are useful for comparing how well Blacks are faring with other groups in our society. For example, Black enrollment in medical schools is less than half the level needed for racial parity while most other groups are making continual progress.

The fifth section discusses degrees conferred between 1975 and 1978 and indicates that for Blacks to obtain racial parity in the receipt of doctorate degrees, it will take 123 years at the rate Blacks are obtaining doctorates today.

And finally, the report questions why there has been so little progress for Blacks since 1976. It does not attempt to answer that question and has deferred it to the second part of this report which Dr. Morris is in the process of writing now.

The earlier reports and monographs written under the first program objective have been much longer documents than this. However, the Board, particularly Dr. Norvel Smith, thought that the equal educational opportunity scoreboard provided such interesting and valuable information of immediate concern that it advised that these data be published immediately. Hopefully, they will inspire those who read them to refocus their attention and concern on providing equal educational opportunity for Blacks.

The Board is grateful to Dr. Morris for the continued high calibre of research and writing he has provided under this program objective. It also expresses thanks to Floyd W. Hayes, III, and Doris James, both Research Assistants on the staff of the Institute, for the essential assistance they provided Dr. Morris in writing this report. The Board also acknowledges the indispensable support of Brenda Lane, a secretary on the staff of the Institute, who typed the manuscript.

Finally, Howard University and the Institute gratefully acknowledge the substantial and continued support of the Ford Foundation, without which this report and the previous major publications of the Institute would not have been possible.

Kenneth S. Tollett
Chairman
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September, 1981

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The Scoreboard

In this, the fourth ISEP report on the status of black Americans in higher education, it seems appropriate to consider how far the nation has come towards equalizing educational opportunity for black and white Americans. Looking back over the decade of the seventies, it is easy to find both progress and stagnation. The progress looms large and promising at the beginning of the decade. Progress toward equality, however, was a virtually inescapable obligation considering the extent of racial inequality from which higher education emerged in the sixties. Failure to respond to this societal obligation would have meant a confrontation with the lingering momentum of the civil rights movement and the growing demands for change. The public costs of extending educational opportunity for black Americans in the sixties were manageable and relatively small, while a heightened racial confrontation was certain to be formidable. By the end of the seventies, the civil rights momentum had apparently dissipated and progress had faltered and all but disappeared. The social obligation to equalize educational opportunity has remained, but it no longer seems ineluctable; the cause remains, but the devotion is gone.

In the same decade, public discussion of equal opportunity has passed from politics to law and from passionate debate to statistical analysis. Politics and feelings remain an indispensible part of progress toward racial equality of opportunity. But the most immediate goals of this kind fall within the range of a national commitment supported in law and reiterated by the major political parties in every state. Specifically, the federal government has gradually committed the nation to the goal of removing all discriminatory barriers to racial parity between black and white Americans in education. Racial parity, as defined in previous ISEP reports, resides in the proportional representation of black and white Americans in all areas and at all levels of higher education from which blacks have been historically excluded.

> The measurement of equality of access in terms of racial parity still requires more sensitive judgment than is frequently exercised. Parity has been naively operationalized on the basis of the black proportion of the total American population. On this basis, parity would be reached if blacks were 11 percent of college enrollment. However, 11 percent is below parity because blacks constitute a substantially larger percentage of those in the college-age population. In the age group normally entering and seeking admission to college, those 18 to 24 years old, blacks constituted about 13 percent in 1976–77. (*Equal Educational Opportunity*, 1981, p. 37)

The pursuit of racial parity in higher education requires the simultaneous commitment of political, economic and socio-psychological resources to create opportunities where complex racial barriers exist. The evaluation and sharpening of appropriate public programs require careful investigation and measurement of the multiple factors contributing to racial inequality in higher education. Ultimately, the full development of a policy aimed at attaining racial parity requires the structured feedback of data on inequality into program planning in higher education. As a consequence, racial parity cannot be the expected result of existing public policy until the effectiveness of public programs is evaluated in terms of the social, economic and racial variables they are expected to influence.

To the extent that equal opportunity relies on the programs aimed at racial parity in higher education, there is no equal opportunity policy without careful measurement of education-related social conditions. There are, however, other avenues for equalizing educational opportunities for blacks. Most notable of the other avenues is the historical role of traditionally black institutions (TBIs) in creating opportunity in the face of pervasive national indifference and hostility to higher education for blacks. The existence of these other avenues to equal opportunity in higher education indicate that racial parity is only a part, albeit a fundamental part, of equalizing opportunity. Statistical accounts of racial parity, therefore, can tell us only whether we are regressing to past inequities or whether progress is being made toward a new set of conditions. Unfortunately, the data on racial parity, as generally measured, can never tell us whether conditions are sufficient to assure that equal opportunity is either a *fait accompli* or an inevitability. Moreover, such data are never sufficient to answer the essential normative question of whether equal opportunity is adequately protected by existing public policy.

We will return to these broader questions in the second volume. First, we need to look briefly at the data on progress toward racial parity in the 1970s. These data confirm the need to look in more depth at public programs in higher education. The statistical record of the seventies shows that the progress toward racial parity was substantial and reassuring at the beginning of the decade, but that progress did not seem to remove fundamental elements of inequality involving higher education. At least, that is the most likely explanation for the lack of progress in recent years and the persistent failures in areas beyond expanded access to college. Earlier ISEP reports complained about unmet promises. In this two-part report, we are more inclined to talk about the forgotten promises illustrated by the

sketchiness and inconsistency of public efforts to provide for racial parity in higher education.

The Population Basis of Parity

One characteristic of the disadvantaged, although clearly a superficial one, is that their rate of population growth tends to greatly exceed that of the advantaged. A corresponding characteristic of a highly educated population is that its rate of reproduction tends to stabilize at a non-expansionary level. Consistent with its history of educational and economic deprivation, the black population is growing at a faster rate than the overall American population. While social analysts are generally conscious of this fact, they have frequently overlooked it in selecting the population basis for educational parity. We call attention to this changing ratio because the 11 percent figure, representing total population and often used, substantially minimizes the distance between current higher education enrollment and the attainment of racial parity.

Among all age groups, the black population is growing faster than the white one; the black to white ratio is about 3 to 1. Although there has been a decline in the American birth rate, the black to white ratio appears to be increasing very slightly with blacks acquiring a greater share of each new age cohort (see Appendix Table 1-1). The greatest racial disparity in growth rates occurs among the young, those under 25 years old. Among the college age cohort, 18–24 years old, the black cohort grew twice as fast as the white cohort in the seventies.

The population basis on which parity guidelines are based must be flexible. For the late 1970s and early 1980s, the black proportion of enrollment constituting parity is about 13 percent because that is the proportion of typically college age Americans who are black (see Table 1-1). Of course, the typical situation frequently does not apply to individual institutions and states. For example, public institutions, designed to serve specific states, regions or localities, must consider the local black population. Thus, most of the southern states, which have the largest black populations, need larger proportions of black students to reach parity. Prominent private universities will more likely be able to use national parameters as long as their normal student populations are nationally representative.

Prior Education as a Basis for Parity

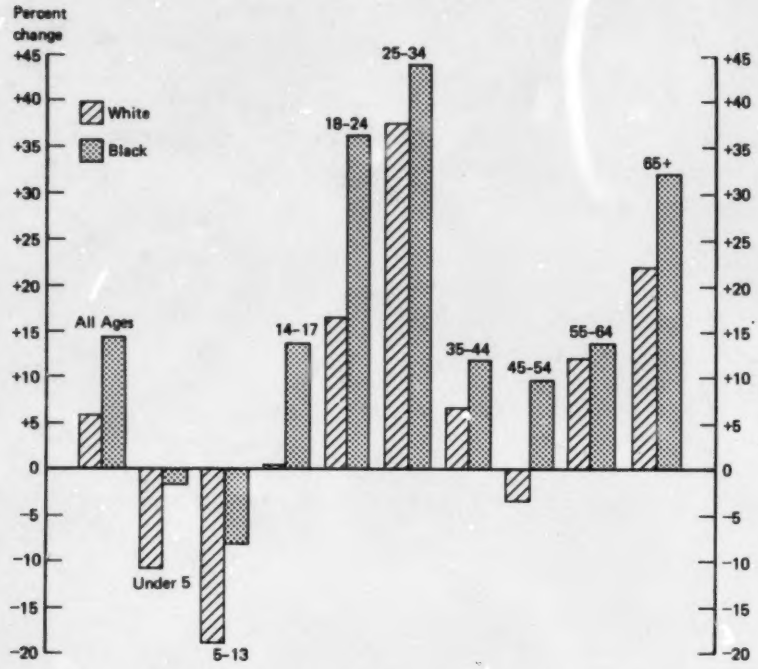
As a basis for determining the size of the population available, capable and willing to go to college, some analysts use the numbers

TABLE 1-1. College Age Population by Race and Sex, July 1, 1976 to 1979

Date & Age		Total			White			Black		
		Total	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*
1979	#	33,465	16,891	16,573	28,370	14,379	13,989	4,412	2,165	2,247
17 to 24 years	%		50.48	49.52	84.78	42.97	41.80	13.18	6.45	6.71
1978	#	33,230	16,768	16,463	28,240	14,312	13,927	4,333	2,123	2,209
17 to 24 years	%		50.46	49.54	84.98	43.07	41.91	13.04	6.39	6.67
1977	#	32,800	16,548	16,253	27,949	14,163	13,784	4,228	2,070	2,156
17 to 24 years	%		50.45	49.55	85.21	43.18	42.02	12.89	6.31	6.57
1976	#	32,375	16,334	16,040	27,663	14,021	13,641	4,118	2,017	2,103
17 to 24 years	%		50.45	49.54	85.45	43.31	42.13	12.72	6.23	6.50

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series p-25, No. 870, "Estimates of the Population of the United States, by Age, Race and Sex: 1976 to 1979," (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1980).

Figure 1-1. Percent Change in Selected Age Groups, by Race: 1970 to 1979



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series p-25, No. 870. "Estimates of the Population of the United States, by Age, Race and Sex: 1976 to 1979," Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1980.

of recent high school graduates to define an eligible "pool." We prefer to rely primarily on the age cohorts to define the pool when dealing with racial parity because racial differences in high school graduation rates almost invariably reflect a racial basis. Equal opportunity in access to college would not be egalitarian if its measurement rested on racially unequal parameters. However, the high school graduate pool is sometimes relevant as a measure of minimal progress particularly since parity has yet to be achieved among this subgroup.

For racial parity to have been reached by 1979 among high school graduates, the proportion of blacks entering college in the 1970s would have to have been 22 percent larger. There is a 13 point difference in the percentages of blacks and whites, 25 to 34 years old, having graduated from high school in 1979, but the difference between blacks and whites with some college education is 16 points (see Figure 1-2). Accordingly, 55 percent of the whites in this age group who had

high school degrees had entered college in 1979 while only 43 percent of the black high school graduates in the age group had entered college. The proportion of black high school graduates having some col-

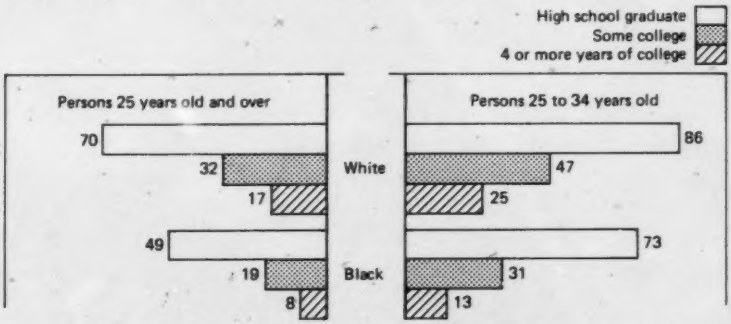
For racial parity to have been reached by 1979 among high school graduates, the proportion of blacks entering college in the 1970s would have to have been 22 percent larger.

lege is 12 points below the white proportion of 55 percent. Therefore, only 78 percent of blacks who should have gone to college, under conditions of racial parity, actually went.

At the beginning of the decade only a little less than a fourth of black Americans over the age of 25 had graduated from high school as compared to over a third of white Americans. By the end of the decade the comparable percentage of blacks increased 26 points. For whites, the increase was a more impressive 35 points. Blacks in this older age group made their greatest gains in college enrollment during the decade, going from 10 percent with "some college" in 1970 to 19 percent in 1979. For whites, the change was from 22 percent to 32 percent. The end point, like the beginning, was still much higher for whites than blacks.

Among college graduates in the younger, post-college age group of 25 to 34 years old, blacks moved from about 6 percent to 13 percent. While this is a large increase, it is not particularly remarkable when contrasted with the growth in the percent of young white college graduates. They went from about 17 percent in 1970 to 25 per-

Figure 1-2. Educational Attainment of the Population, by Selected Age Groups, Race, 1979



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series, p-20, No. 350, "Population profile of the United States: 1979," Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1980.

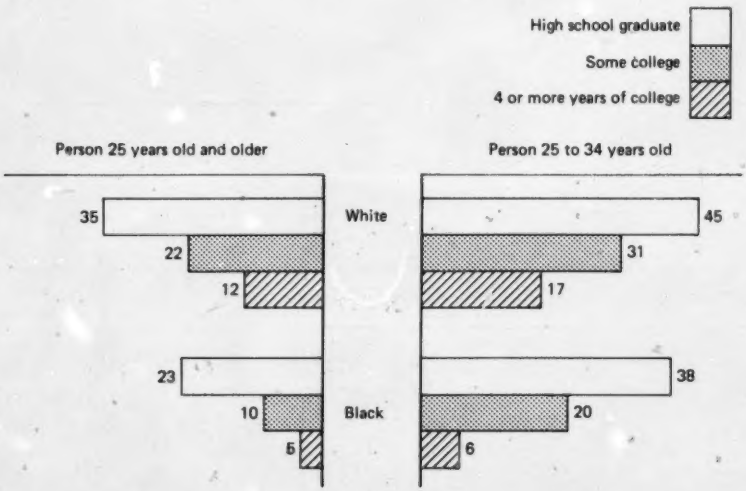
cent in 1979. The proportions of college graduates among whites did not double as among blacks but the real gain among whites of 8 percent more college graduates was larger than the gain among blacks. In the end, blacks reached about half the level of parity with whites.

Change in Parity for High School Graduates

Current rates of college enrollment by black high school graduates represent substantial progress over the beginning of the decade. However, the extent of progress in the relationship between black and white high school graduation rates is not very impressive. In 1970, blacks and whites graduated from high school at rates of 65 and 83 percent, respectively. By 1974, the black to white graduation rate was 72 to 85 percent. It was virtually the same at the end of the 1970's.

In 1970, only about 15 percent of the black college age group of 17 to 24 years old were enrolled in college. At the same time, 27 percent of their white counterparts were enrolled. The rate of college

Figure 1-3. Educational Attainment of the Population by Selected Age Groups and by Race, 1970[a]



a. See Appendix Table A 1-2 for absolute numbers.

Source: Based on U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series p-20, No. 207, "Educational Attainment: March 1970," Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1970. ISEP Staff calculations.

attendance for high school graduates among this age group is about 23 percent for blacks and 33 percent for whites. To achieve parity, there should have been an increase of about 43 percent in black enrollment in college. Compared with a needed increase of 23 percent in black enrollment for the whole decade, significant progress was made. Viewed slightly differently, only 70 percent of blacks who should have gone to college under conditions of parity went in 1970. Over the whole decade, just under 79 percent of blacks who should have gone actually went. That figure represents about one point a year. This is progress, but it is far from spectacular.

Enrollment in Traditionally Black Institutions of Higher Education

In little more than a decade, the bulk of black students has gone from the 105 traditionally black institutions (TBIs) to the approximately 3,000 traditionally white or newly majority black institutions. In 1968 TBIs enrolled about one third of the approximately 434,000 black students in higher education. Ten years later these institutions enrolled just under 17 percent of the one million black students. The change in enrollment distribution among these two groups of institutions, however, may overshadow important aspects of the continuing role of TBIs. As will be examined in Part II, TBIs continue to graduate a much larger proportion of black students than their current enrollment would suggest. In addition, they have larger roles in critical sectors of higher education. For example, TBIs enroll nearly a third of black undergraduates in four-year colleges (see Table 1-2).

Undergraduate Enrollment

By 1979, only 5 percent of black Americans had completed four years of college. This is a little less than half of the completion rate for white Americans. The median level of schooling for blacks was just under tenth grade; the median level for whites, just over twelfth grade. In the 20 to 24 years old group, 23 percent of blacks had completed one year of college, compared to 39 percent of whites. All higher education census data show substantial growth for both blacks and whites between 1960 and 1970, but the growth is unevenly distributed. Among whites the growth in degrees awarded and in enrollment are more closely related than among blacks. The proportion of

TABLE 1-2. Total Black Enrollment by Type, Control and Race of Institution, Fall 1978

Type of Institution	*Total Black Enrollment*	*Total Black in TBI*	*Dist. of Black TBI Enrollment*	*Enrolled in TBI*
All Institutions	1,055,964	173,821	100.0	16.5
Public	841,113	115,054	66.2	13.7
Private	214,851	58,767	33.8	27.4
All Universities	146,987	13,243	7.6	9.0
Public	102,162	5,085	2.9	5.0
Private	44,825	8,158	4.7	18.2
All Four-Year Colleges	466,360	153,041	88.1	32.8
Public	324,310	104,579	60.2	32.2
Private	142,050	48,462	27.9	34.1
All Two-Year Colleges	442,617	7,537	4.3	1.7
Public	414,641	5,390	3.1	1.3
Private	27,976	2,147	1.2	7.7

Source: National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities. Committee Staff analysis of NCES/OCR data, 1978.

young blacks with one year of college nearly doubled over its 12 percent starting point between 1960 and 1970. During the same period, the proportion of young blacks graduating from college increased only by half from 4 percent to 6 percent.

About 12.2 percent, or 522,000, of young blacks age 15 to 24 were enrolled in college in 1970. More than twice that proportion of whites, 28 percent, were enrolled in college. As a percentage of college enrollment in 1970, blacks represented only 7 percent. By the second half of the decade, blacks had risen in number to more than 866,000. In 1976, blacks constituted 9.3 percent of all higher education and 10.2 of all undergraduates. Accordingly, there was more than a 60 percent increase in college attendance among young blacks in the first half of the decade.

In only two years, the pattern of growth might have been expected to continue. That is not what happened. By 1978, black college enrollment had not progressed proportionately. As a part of undergraduate enrollment, blacks remained 10.2 percent, and total college enrollment of blacks remained about 9.3 percent. In fact, there was a few tenths of a percent decline. This slight decline becomes significant in the context of graduate and professional enrollment, but the total numbers enrolled are too small to substantially affect the aggregate enrollment data.

TABLE 1-3. Total Undergraduate Enrollment in Institutions of Higher Education by Race and Ethnicity 1978*

Race	*Number*	*%*	*Race*	*Number*	*%*
American Indian	61,418	.7	Total Minority	1,589,584	18.3
Black	887,899	10.2	White	6,940,185	79.9
Asian	181,014	2.1	Non-Residents	155,271	1.8
Hispanic	459,253	5.3	Total	8,685,040	

*2,941 Institutions

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, "Opening Fall Enrollment, 1978" (Unpublished HEGIS data).

Tables 1-2 and 1-3 show what could be considered a picture of enrollment stability for blacks if they did not also show enrollment for other groups. Overall, full-time undergraduate enrollment declined between 1976 and 1978 by 1.2 percent. White students, whose full-time undergraduate enrollment declined by 2.1 percent, constituted a major part of that drop. Between 1974 and 1976, their enrollment had also declined by 0.8 percent or by about 48,000 stu-

What has changed since 1976 is that black undergraduate enrollment is no longer increasing even though the enrollment of all other minorities except Native Americans is still going up.

dents. In that two year period, all minority enrollment had increased by almost a third. What has changed since 1976 is that black undergraduate enrollment is no longer increasing even though the enrollment of all other minorities except Native Americans is still going up. Looking simply at the rates of growth and decline before and after 1976, the disparity in growth and sudden reversal for blacks appear much larger than the continual and mild decline among whites.

Distribution of Undergraduate Enrollment Among Institutions

Several ISEP publications, including Morris' *Elusive Equality* and Olivas' *The Dilemma of Access*, point out a heavy concentration of black and other minorities in two-year colleges. In 1976, almost 50 percent of black students and 59 percent of Hispanics were enrolled in two-

TABLE 1-4. Comparisons of Full-Time Undergraduate Enrollment in Institutions of Higher Education by Race and Ethnicity 1974, 1976, 1978

	1974		*1974–76 % Change*	*1976*		*1976–78 % Change*	*1978*	
	#	%		#	%		#	%
American Indian	32,357	.6	18.7	38,420	.7	-5.8	36,199	.6
Black	505,601	9.0	19.7	605,116	10.4	- .6	601,281	10.4
Asian	63,781	1.1	61.9	103,247	1.8	11.9	15,560	11.9
Hispanic	157,572	2.8	67.5	263,982	4.5	10.3	291,197	5.1
Total Minority	759,311	13.5	33.1	1,010,765	17.3	3.3	1,044,237	18.1
White	4,858,206	86.5	-.8	4,820,716	82.7	-2.1	4,717,382	81.9
Total	5,617,617		3.8	5,831,481		-1.2	5,761,619	

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, "Opening Fall Enrollment, 1978" (Unpublished HEGIS data), ISEP Staff Calculations.

year colleges compared to 43 percent of white students. *Elusive Equality* takes the position that the relative underrepresentation of blacks and other minorities in four-year colleges constitutes an implicit threat to equal opportunity. As a consequence of growing recognition of this threat we expected to see the two year/four year distribution more evenly balanced in 1978.

Considering only the enrollment distribution among blacks, there appears to have been some progress. In 1978, 41 percent of black students were enrolled in two-year colleges. Thus, they continue to be more heavily concentrated than white students in these institutions. The fact that blacks are 10.9 percent of total two-year college enrollment and only 8.4 percent of four-year college enrollment indicates the continuing imbalance in their distribution among institutions of higher education. Whites have moved in larger proportions to four-year colleges than have black students. In 1978, only about a third of whites, 34 percent, were enrolled in two-year colleges (see Table 1-5). Relative to whites, black underrepresentation has either remained the same or has gotten worse. The proportion of students in two-year colleges between 1976 and 1978 dropped by 0.9 percent for both blacks and whites. Given the smaller proportion of two-year college enrollment among white students, the 9 percent change would constitute a larger portion of their enrollment than that of black enrollment. Moreover, nearly all of the drop in two-year college enrollment, 0.8 percent, occurs among whites.

Undergraduate Enrollment by Race and Sex

For the most part, a brief statistical review of this kind of higher education for blacks would not normally look at sex differences in enrollment. Some mention of these differences, however, is necessary because the differences are statistically large enough to merit special attention. In fact, the patterns of male and female participation in higher education among blacks are not only strikingly different from those of other groups, but the degree of disparity also appears to be growing in several cases.

While men have generally greatly outnumbered women in every area of higher education enrollment, black men have always been outnumbered by black women in total enrollment. At the undergraduate level, black women clearly outnumber black men in 1978 as they have done for many years. This condition might not be problematic if it were not also associated with other enrollment patterns. For exam-

TABLE 1-5. Total Enrollment in Institutions of Higher Education by Race and Ethnicity, 1976 to 1978

	Four Year Institutions					*Two Year Institutions*				
	1976		*1976–78 % difference*	*1978*		*1976*		*1976–78 % difference*	*1978*	
	#	%	%	#	%	#	%	%	#	%
American Indian	20,172	.4	.1	34,952	.5	41,244	1.1		42,881	1.1
Black	436,592	8.2	.2	612,656	8.4	429,723	11.0	-.1	442,617	10.9
Asian	74,529	1.4	.5	139,671	1.9	80,418	2.1	.3	98,371	2.4
Hispanic	167,655	3.2	.6	278,559	3.8	242,009	6.2	.3	262,260	6.5
Total Minority	698,948	13.2	1.4	1,065,838	14.6	793,394	20.3	.5	846,129	20.8
White	3,810,294	72.0	10.6	6,015,353	82.6	3,080,799	78.7	-.8	3,166,969	77.9
Non-Resident Alien	87,450	1.7	1.1	200,651	2.8	442,425	1.1	.2	52,059	1.3
Total	5,295,640		14.5	7,281,842		3,916,618		.5	4,065,157	

Source: Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, *Minorities in Two Year Colleges*, Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, 1980, Table 7; U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education, National Center for Education Statistics, "Opening Fall Enrollment, 1978," (Unpublished HEGIS Data). ISEP staff calculations.

TABLE 1-6. Distribution Between Two Year and Four Year Colleges by Race and Sex, 1978

	Four Year Institutions						*Two Year Institutions*					
Race	*Male*		*Female*		*Total*		*Male*		*Female*		*Total*	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
American Indian	17,231	.5	17,721	.5	34,952	.5	19,560	1.0	23,321	1.1	42,881	1.1
Black	259,950	6.9	352,706	10.0	612,656	8.4	193,165	10.2	249,452	11.5	442,617	10.9
Asian	76,355	2.0	63,316	1.8	139,671	1.9	51,203	2.7	47,168	2.2	98,371	2.4
Hispanic	136,918	3.6	141,641	4.0	278,559	3.8	128,549	6.8	133,711	6.2	262,260	6.5
Total Minority	490,454	13.0	575,384	16.3	1,065,838	14.6	392,477	20.6	453,652	21.0	846,129	20.8
White	3,126,720	83.1	2,888,633	82.1	6,015,353	82.6	1,474,253	77.6	1,692,716	78.2	3,166,969	77.9
Non-Resident Alien	145,276	3.9	55,375	1.6	200,651	2.8	34,158	1.8	17,901	.8	52,059	1.3
Total	3,762,450		3,519,392		7,281,842		1,900,888		2,164,269		4,065,157	

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, "Opening Fall Enrollment 1978," (Unpublished HEGIS Data). ISEP staff calculations.

ple, black men are more underrepresented in four-year colleges than black women (see Table 1-6). Blacks are only 6.9 percent of the male enrollment in four-year colleges, compared to 10 percent of the female enrollment in 1978. This means that black men are still at less than half the level of enrollment needed for racial parity in four year colleges. Ironically, black women are statistically closer to parity with white women in two year colleges as well as in four year colleges. Nevertheless, both black males and females continue to be underrepresented in all sectors of higher education.

Graduate and Professional School Enrollment

Graduate Enrollment

Enrollment in graduate and professional schools reached a peak between 1976 and 1979. Total graduate school enrollment dropped from just over 1,085,000 in 1976–77 to just over 1,076,000 in the fall of 1978. This meant a decline of 2.5 percent for all full-time students. Some ethnic groups, including Hispanics and Asian/Pacific Islanders, showed enrollment increases greater than 9 percent. Blacks, on the other hand, led the field in declining enrollments. Their total enrollment declined by about 3,500 students between 1976 and 1978 to 61,918 students. At this number, blacks constituted only 5.8 percent of total graduate enrollment. If black enrollment were doubled to 11.6 percent, the real number of blacks enrolled would be greater than the enrollment of all minorities, but would still remain below racial parity.

If black [graduate] enrollment were doubled to 11.6 percent, the real number of blacks enrolled would be greater than the enrollment of all minorities, but would still remain below racial parity.

The reversal of progress in graduate opportunities for blacks is well illustrated by the precipitous decline in black full-time enrollment. Blacks were only 5.6 percent of all full-time graduate students in 1978. Compared with their 1976 full-time enrollment, blacks declined almost 5 percent. Yet, other minorities experienced substantial increases, and total enrollment declined only about half as much as black enrollment (see Table 1-7).

TABLE 1-7. Total Graduate Enrollment by Race and Ethnicity, 1976 and 1978

Race	1976		1978	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Black	65,345	6.02	61,918	5.8
Minority	112,151	11.16	111,612	10.4
White	908,859	83.75	891,157	82.8
Total	1,085,131		1,076,150	

Source: Lorenzo Morris. *Elusive Equality: The Status of Black Americans in Higher Education*, and NCES, "Opening Fall Enrollment, 1978" (preliminary data).

Professional School Enrollment

When total graduate school enrollment peaked in 1976, total professional school enrollment was still growing. Full-time professional school enrollment increased more than 5 percent between 1976 and 1978, following an earlier two-year growth of more than 16 percent. Among blacks, however, total first professional degree enrollment remained virtually unchanged between 1976 and 1978 leveling off at just over 11,000 students. Given the increased enrollment of other students, the black proportion declined slightly from 4.5 to 4.4. However, the absolute numbers of black students increased by a few hundred (see Table 1-9).

Again, with the exception of Native Americans, black Americans made the least progress in full-time enrollment between 1976 and 1978. Considering that Native Americans experienced a 134 percent increase in their full-time enrollment between 1974 and 1976 while

. . . white Americans enjoyed a 14 percent increase in the pre-1976 period and a 5 percent increase in the post-1976 period. Yet, black full-time enrollment went up only 2 percent.

all other groups had increases much greater than the 8.9 percent increase of blacks, blacks actually underwent the greatest relative loss of all groups. Hispanics, for example, experienced an 87 percent increase in the two year period before 1976 and an 18 percent increase

in the two subsequent years. At the same time, white Americans enjoyed a 14 percent increase in the pre-1976 period and a 5 percent increase in the post-1976 period. Yet, black full-time enrollment went up only 2 percent.

TABLE 1-8. Percent Changes in Full-Time Graduate Enrollment by Race and Ethnicity 1974, 1976 and 1978

	1974	*1976*	*1978*
	%	%	%
American Indian	.4	.4	.4
Black	5.5	5.8	5.6
Asian	1.8	2.2	2.5
Hispanic	1.5	2.5	2.6
Total Minority	9.2	10.9	11.2
White	90.8	89.1	88.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: NCES unpublished HEGIS data.

TABLE 1-9. Percentage First Professional Enrollment by Race and Ethnicity 1976 and 1978

	1976		*1978*	
	Number	*Percentage*	*Number*	*Percentage*
Black	11,181	4.54	11,424	4.45
Total Minority	22,669	9.22	24,241	9.45
White	220,059	89.53	229,306	89.37
Total	245,790		256,591	

Source: NCES unpublished HEGIS data and Morris, *Elusive Equality*, p. 240.

In the past decade, law and medical schools have had the largest enrollment of all professional schools. In recent years, enrollment in other professional schools, particularly in business and management schools, has been gaining. However, law and medical schools will remain important barometers for the assessment of educational opportunity for years to come. They are important to the full range of equal opportunity. First, they represent the most fully developed link between education and employment. Second, access to these schools has been among the most competitive for large numbers of students for years. Third, the prestige and tradition associated with these pro-

TABLE 1-10. Percent Difference in Full-Time, First Professional Enrollment and Race and Ethnicity 1974, 1976 and 1978

Race	1974			1976			1978		
	#	%	Difference % 74-76	#	%	Difference % 76-78	#	%	Difference % 74-78
American Indian	526	.27	.28	1,233	.56	-.14	975	.42	.15
Black	9,208	4.88	-.30	10,029	4.58	-.12	10,260	4.46	-.42
Asian	2,521	1.33	.42	3,827	1.75	-.29	4,515	1.46	.13
Hispanic	2,906	1.54	.95	5,444	2.49	.23	6,275	2.72	1.18
Total Minority	15,161	8.05	1.34	20,533	9.39	.18	22,025	9.57	1.52
White	173,143	91.94	-1.34	198,071	90.60	-.18	207,912	90.42	-1.52
Total	188,304			218,604			229,937		

Source: NCES, unpublished HEGIS Data. ISEP staff calculations.

TABLE 1-11. Percent Growth in Full-Time, First Professional Degree Enrollment by Race and Ethnicity 1974, 1976, 1978

Race	*1974–1976*	*1976–1978*	*1974–1978*
	%	%	%
American Indian	134.4	-20.92	85.36
Black	8.9	2.3	11.42
Asian	51.80	17.97	79.09
Hispanic	87.33	15.26	115.93
Total Minority	35.4	7.26	45.27
White	14.39	4.96	20.08
Total	16.07	5.18	22.10

Source: Based on Analysis of NCES, unpublished HEGIS Data. ISEP Staff Calculations.

TABLE 1-12. Survey of Students Enrolled in J. D. Programs in Approved Law Schools

Year	*Black*		*Other Minorities*		*White*		*Total*
	#	%	#	%	#	%	
1979–80	5,257	4.27	4,751	3.86	112,852	91.85	122,860
1978–79	5,350	4.39	4,572	4.49	111,684	91.84	121,606
1977–78	5,305	4.47	4,292	3.62	108,960	91.90	118,557
1976–77	5,503	4.68	4,021	3.42	107,927	91.89	117,451
1975–76	5,127	4.38	3,576	3.05	108,288	92.56	116,991
1974–75	4,995	4.51	3,338	3.01	102,380	92.47	110,713
1973–74	4,817	4.53	2,784	2.62	98,501	92.83	106,102
1972–73	4,423	4.35	2,307	2.26	94,934	93.38	101,664
1971–72	3,744	4.02	1,824	1.95	87,550	94.02	93,118
1969–70	2,128	3.11	805	1.17	65,453	95.71	68,386
Percent Growth 1969–74		134.72		314.65		56.41	
Percent Growth 1975–79		2.48		32.85		4.21	
Percent Growth 1976–79		-4.47		18.15		4.56	

Source: American Bar Association, *A Review of Legal Education in the United States–Fall 1979.* Chicago: American Bar Association, 1980. ISEP staff calculations.

fessional schools make them indispensible components in any comprehensive assessment of higher education.

Law School Enrollment

Changes in black enrollment in law schools over the past decade provide one of the clearest examples of what may be called the rise and fall of black progress in higher education. Fortunately, the fall of progress does not mean a loss of all the numerical gains made in the interim. At the beginning of the decade, blacks were about 3.1 percent of all law school enrollment, and by 1979 they were just under 4.3 percent. In real numbers black enrollment more than doubled (see Table 1-12). Still, everyone made large gains; white enrollment almost doubled in the same period.

Progress for blacks had faded by the middle of the decade. Black enrollment increased 134 percent in the first five years. But, by 1976 black enrollment peaked. Since then it has repeatedly declined, down more than 4 percent from its high point. In contrast, white enrollment has steadily increased in absolute numbers. While the rate of growth is understandably less than the growth rates of minorities, white (non-minority) students have continually held about 92 percent of all places in law schools since 1975.

Medical School Enrollment

Data on enrollment in medical school are seemingly more comprehensive and detailed—thanks to the Association of American Medical Colleges (AAMC)—than any other set of enrollment data. Unfortunately, the care shown in adequately reporting data is not also evident in promotion of access for blacks to medical education. The trend in black enrollment in medical school is at least as disappointing as the trend in law school enrollment. While the absolute number of blacks in medical school declined once in the decade, it declined twice in law school. Also mildly in favor of medical school, blacks constituted a larger proportion of medical students, 5.7 percent, than law students, 4.3 percent, at the end of the decade. On the other hand, the black student proportion of medical school enrollment declined more consistently during the decade than the proportion of law school enrollment.

TABLE 1-13. Medical School Enrollment by Race, Ethnicity, and National Origin, 1970 to 1975

Groups	1970–71		1971–72		1972–73		1973–74		1974–75	
	No.	Percentage*	No.	Percentage*	No.	Percentage*	No.	Percentage*	No.	Percentage*
Selected U.S. Minorities										
Black American	1,509	3.8	2,055	4.7	2,582	5.4	3,045	6.0	3,355	6.3
American Indian	18	.04	42	.1	69	.2	97	.2	159	.3
Mexican American	148	.4	252	.6	361	.8	496	1.0	638	1.2
Puerto Rican–Mainland	48	.1	76	.2	123	.2	172	.3		
Total	1,723	4.3	2,425	5.6	3,102	6.6	3,761	7.4	4,324	8.1
Other U.S. Minorities										
American Oriental	571	1.4	647	1.5	718	1.5	883	1.7	959	1.8
Other					98	.2	192	.4	277	.5
Total	571	1.4	647	1.5	816	1.7	1,075	2.1	1,236	2.3
Total U.S. Minorities	2,294	5.7	3,072	7.1	3,918	8.3	4,836	9.5	5,560	10.4
Foreign Students	650	1.7	715	1.6	735	1.6	805	1.6	819	1.5

Source: Association of American Medical Colleges, AAMC Fall Enrollment Surveys (Preliminary data, 1980).

TABLE 1-14. Medical School Enrollment by Race, Ethnicity and National Origin, 1975 to 1980

Racial/Ethnic Group	1974–75		1975–76		1976–77		1977–78		1978–79		1979–80	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
U.S. Citizens												
Caucasians	46,761	87.3	48,654	87.2	50,233	87.0	51,974	86.6	53,746	86.4	54,853	86.0
Black American	3,355	6.3	3,456	6.2	3,517	6.1	3,587	6.0	3,540	5.7	3,627	5.7
American Indian	159	.3	172	.3	186	.3	201	.3	202	.3	212	.3
Hispanic*	1,224	2.3	1,473	2.6	1,645	2.8	2,050	3.4	2,265	3.6	2,512	3.9
American Oriental	959	1.8	1,022	1.8	1,177	2.0	1,422	2.4	1,592	2.6	1,777	2.8
Other	277	.5	238	.4	262	.5	—	—	—	—	—	—
Foreign	819	1.5	803	1.4	745	1.3	805	1.3	897	1.4	797	1.2
Total	53,554	100.0	55,818	100.0	57,765	100.0	60,039	100.0	62,242	100.0	63,800†	100.0

*For 1974–75, the Hispanic category includes *only* Puerto Ricans who were residents on the U.S. mainland, Puerto Ricans enrolled at the University of Puerto Rico, and Mexican Americans. For 1975–76 and 1976–77, Hispanic includes these three groups and students classified as Cuban. For these four years, any other Hispanics were most likely assigned to the "other" category. Beginning in 1977–78, the fall enrollment questionnaire was revised to reflect DHEW suggested racial/ethnic classifications. The general "other" category was dropped and a Hispanic classification was added, which is defined to include any person of Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race. This would account for part of the increase for the Hispanic group from 1976–77 to 1977–78.

†Total includes 22 students from whom data were not available.

In the first half of the decade, the enrollment trend was more promising. The number of black medical students more than doubled from 1,509, or 3.8 percent of all medical students in 1970–71, to 3,355 or 6.3 percent of all medical students in 1974–75. At the mid-point of the decade, black progress in medical school enrollment increases gives way to retrenchment. Blacks lost a tenth of a percent every year until 1978 when they lost three-tenths of a percent (see Table 1-13).

In the same five years when black enrollment declines, white enrollment declines by about one percent. There is no real comparison between the two changes. White students retain 86 percent of all enrollment in 1979–80 while black students have only 5.7 percent. Black enrollment is less than half the level needed for racial parity.

Blacks were the only Americans to experience substantial retrenchment in professional school access, and that negative experience is already five years old.

Trends in enrollment in the second half of the decade suggest little improvement in the status of blacks in other professional schools as well as in medical schools. There is sufficient evidence that increases for all groups are possible. For example, other American minorities actually experienced steady gains in enrollment during this period. Hispanics went from 2.3 percent in 1974–75 to 3.9 percent of enrollment in 1979–80, and Orientals had parallel gains. Blacks were the only Americans to experience substantial retrenchment in professional school access, and that negative experience is already five years old.

Degrees Conferred, 1975–1978

Bachelor's Degrees

Data on degrees conferred largely confirm the loss of status for blacks in higher education indicated by changes in enrollment. More than confirming a loss of status, the degree data show that blacks lost most at the points of greatest underrepresentation. At the graduate and professional education levels there was a clear drop in the proportion of black graduates in the last half of the decade. At the undergraduate level the percentage of black graduates did not decline, but progress all but disappeared.

Among new bachelor degrees awarded, black graduates went from 6.3 percent in 1975-76 to 6.5 percent in 1978-79. This 0.2 percent increase reflected an increase of less than a thousand black graduates per year as shown in Table 1-15. Since the total number of all graduates declined, this small increase looks a little more important. Yet, given that 6.5 percent is still half the level necessary for racial parity, such a small increase is hardly a sign of meaningful progress.

TABLE 1-15. Bachelor's Degrees Conferred, 1975-76, 1978-79 and Percent Difference by Race and Minority Status

	1975-76		*1978-79*		Difference	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
White	811,772	87.5	799,612	87.2	12,160	-0.3
Black	59,187	6.3	60,130	6.5	+943	0.2
Total Minority	100,228	10.8	98,899	10.5	-1,329	-0.3
Total	927,085		916,347		-10,738	

Source: L. Morris, *Elusive Equality*, p. 279; U.S. Department of Education, OCR, Data on Earned Degrees Conferred, 1978-1979.

Master's Degrees

Among master's degree recipients, the situation is more critical for blacks. Again, the number of graduates at this level declined for blacks and whites, but the proportion of black graduates declined most (-0.2 percent). The only gains were still minute (Table 1-16) and

The best that can be said about the proportion of black master's degree recipients is that at 6.6 percent in 1975-76, it was higher than the undergraduate proportion has ever been.

went to other minorities. The best that can be said about the proportion of black master's degree recipients is that at 6.6 percent in 1975-76, it was higher than the undergraduate proportion has ever been.

At no time during the past decade have blacks constituted more than 6.6 percent of the graduates in any level of higher education beyond the associate degree. When one considers, first, that the highest percentage of black graduates was reached in 1975-76 and, second, at that level of 6.6, which is about half the percentage neces-

sary for racial parity, the failure to make progress looks even more inadequate.

TABLE 1-16. Master's Degrees Conferred, 1975-76, 1978-79 and Percent Change by Race and Minority Status

	1975-76		1978-79		Difference	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
White	262,851	84.7	249,051	83.0	-13,800	-1.7
Black	20,351	6.6	19,393	6.4	-958	-0.2
Total Minority	31,562	10.3	31,431	10.3	-131	0.0
Total	310,493		299,887		-10,606	

Source: L. Morris, *Elusive Equality*, p. 227; U.S. Department of Education, OCR, Data on Earned Degrees Conferred, 1978-79.

Doctor's Degrees

The rate of change in the proportion of blacks receiving doctorates is statistically comparable to the rate of change among black bachelor

At the 0.2 percent rate of change [among Blacks] it would take another 123 years for racial parity to be achieved, assuming the number of doctorates awarded remains the same.

degree recipients. Both the beginning and end points of doctorates awarded to blacks, however, are so low that the social value of the increase is more relative than absolute (see Table 1-17). At the 0.2 percent rate of change it would take another 123 years for racial parity to be achieved, assuming the number of doctorates awarded remains the same.

First Professional Degrees

As pointed out in *Elusive Equality*, the underrepresentation of blacks among professional school graduates was particularly serious in 1975-76. By the end of the decade the situation had gone from serious to chronic. By the end of the seventies (Table 1-18), blacks were the only group to lose in the proportions of professional school grad-

TABLE 1-17. Doctor's Degrees Conferred, 1975-76, 1978-79 and Percent Change by Race and Minority Status

	1975-76		1978-79		Difference	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
White	27,435	81.2	26,128	79.9	-1,307	-1.3
Black	1,213	3.6	1,267	3.8	54	0.2
Total Minority	2,296	6.8	2,621	7.8	325	1.0
Total	33,799		32,664		-1,135	

Source: L. Morris, *Elusive Equality*, p. 227; U.S. Department of Education, OCR, Data on Earned Degrees Conferred, 1978-79.

uates. The loss was -0.2 percent. Other minorities made very small gains. The largest gain went to white Americans. Although the increase for whites was only 0.36 percent, it was larger than any gain for blacks among the few major degree categories.

A major source of the decline in black professional degree recipients is the decline in black law graduates. Since the number of black law graduates is more than half the professional school graduates throughout the decade, any substantial change in their number is likely to affect the total percentage of blacks among professional schools. There was a significant drop of almost half a percent in the proportion of black law graduates. At the same time, the number of white law graduates increased half a percent. The overall result was a clear regression away from racial parity (see Table 1-19).

In addition, the percent of black medical school graduates also declined, although the absolute number of black graduates increased slightly. Since black medical degree recipients make up a fourth of the total number of professionals, changes in the black proportion of medical degrees significantly affect the overall professional school results but not as much as the black proportion of law degrees. Moreover, the proportion of white medical school graduates declined by more than the black proportion. Yet, recognizing the established racial differences in participation in medical school, the proportional decline in white graduates still meant an increase in the concrete number of white graduates twenty times greater than the increase of black graduates (see Table 1-20).

A Pivotal Point in the Status of Black Students

What happened in 1975 and 1976 to reverse progress for blacks in professional schools? What happened in the subsequent years to

TABLE 1-18. First Professional Degrees Conferred, 1975–76, 1978–79 and Percent Difference by Race and Minority Status

	1975–76		1978–79		Difference	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
White	56,335	90.14	62,432	90.50	6,097	0.36
Black	2,694	4.31	2,836	4.11	142	-0.2
Total Minority	5,333	8.53	5,912	8.57	579	0.04
Total[a]	62,497		68,985		6,488	

[a]Total includes non-resident aliens.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, *Data on Earned Degrees Conferred from Institutions of Higher Education by Race, Ethnicity and Sex, Academic Year 1978–79.* (Washington, D.C., U.S. G.P.O., 1981).

TABLE 1-19. Law Degrees Conferred, 1975–76, 1978–79 and Percent Difference by Race and Minority Status

	1975–1976		1978–1979		Difference	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
White	29,520	90.88	32,336	91.37	2,816	0.49
Black	1,519	4.68	1,500	4.23	-19	-0.45
Total Minority	2,764	8.51	2,918	8.24	154	-0.27
Total[a]	32,483		35,387		2,904	

[a]Total includes non-resident aliens.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, *Data on Earned Degrees Conferred from Institutions of Higher Education by Race, Ethnicity and Sex, Academic Year 1978–79.* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. G.P.O., 1981).

bring enrollment growth for blacks to an end in other areas of higher education? Ten years is certainly not so long a period that concerted efforts to promote equal educational opportunity had to be depleted. The questions and answers seem to be traceable to a few years centering on 1975, but more profound answers may require analysis of more than a decade. At this time, the literature on equality of opportunity and higher education provides very few clues to understanding why black enrollment changes when it does.

Clearly, the advent of affirmative action programs at the end of the 1960s, coupled with the lingering influence of the civil rights movement, had a great deal to do with the initial progress. Although

TABLE 1-20. Medical Degrees Conferred, 1975–1976, 1978–1979 and Percent Difference by Race and Minority Status

	1975–1976		1978–1979		Difference	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
White	11,993	88.92	13,205	88.47	1,212	-0.45
Black	708	5.25	762	5.10	54	-0.15
Total Minority	1,286	9.54	1,632	10.93	346	1.39
Total[a]	13,487		14,925		1,438	

[a]Total includes non-resident aliens.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, *Data on Earned Degrees Conferred from Institutions of Higher Education by Race, Ethnicity and Sex, Academic Year 1978–79.* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. G.P.O., 1981).

less evident, it is very likely that effective opposition to affirmative action, as indicated by the *Bakke* case, had something to do with the retrenchment in 1979. However, the decline began a few years before *Bakke* became a national concern. In fact, professional schools began to slow down their enrollment of blacks at a time when the largest waves of black undergraduates were emerging. Moreover, the undergraduate enrollment of blacks stopped growing at a time when financial assistance available to students was reaching its zenith. There are, therefore, no apparent reasons why progress toward equalizing opportunity in higher education has not been greater.

In fact, professional schools began to slow down their enrollment of blacks at a time when the largest waves of black undergraduates were emerging.

Explanations of these failures, consequently, require an analysis of things and events beyond the typical factors associated with patterns of enrollment.

The minimal progress in baccalaureate graduation rates and the decline in post-graduate degrees for blacks by 1978–79 indicates that the enrollment increases of earlier years can be dissipated over the course of a few years. Even where there has been no progress in enrollment, as in professional schools since the mid-seventies, subsequent graduation rates of blacks show a still greater decline. The 1978–79 bachelor's degree increases for blacks reflect pre-1975 increases in enrollment. At the advanced levels, the graduation rates

fall well below the levels projected from earlier enrollments. If there is any consistency in these patterns, it involves the relationship between level of selectivity and lack of progress for blacks. The pattern is suggested by the disproportionately low enrollment of blacks in two year colleges as compared with four year colleges. The pattern appears to reemerge in comparison of black enrollment with the more inaccessible graduation cohorts. Similarly, the greater losses and smaller gains in professional schools and doctoral programs, compared to other levels, indicate a negative link between selectivity and progress for blacks. When the black proportion of students is relatively small, as in the more exclusive programs, generally negative trends in black enrollment and graduation will be more seriously felt in the programs where blacks are already heavily underrepresented. When the general trend is progressive, the bulk of progress will occur at the point where blacks were already best represented.

As will be discussed in Part II, the growth of public and private programs directed toward expanding educational opportunities can be associated with gains for minorities only up to a point. There remain substantial inconsistencies in results from these programs both in terms of long range effects and in terms of effects on specific areas of higher education options for students. These failures and inconsistencies suggest the continued presence of countervailing forces against progress for blacks which have been overlooked or underestimated. It seems that equality of opportunity in higher education has been generally analyzed and pursued in a relative vacuum, omitting crucial social and educational forces from the purview of analysis and program development. These forces will be examined in the subsequent volume.

APPENDIX TABLE 1-1. Age Structure of the Population, by Race: July 1, 1979 and April 1, 1970 (Number in thousands. Total population including Armed Forces overseas)

Age	Population		Percent distribution		Population change, 1970 to 1979	
	July 1, 1979	April 1, 1970	July 1, 1979	April 1, 1970	Number	Percent
TOTAL						
All ages	220,584	204,335	100.0	100.0	+16,250	+8.0
Under 5 years	15,649	17,163	7.1	8.4	-1,514	-8.8
5 to 13 years	30,647	36,675	13.9	17.9	-6,028	-16.4
14 to 17 years	16,276	15,854	7.4	7.8	+422	+2.7
18 to 24 years	29,285	24,455	13.3	12.0	+4,830	+19.7
25 to 34 years	35,024	25,146	15.9	12.3	+9,879	+39.3
35 to 44 years	25,136	23,214	11.4	11.4	+1,923	+8.3
45 to 54 years	22,957	23,254	10.4	11.4	-296	+1.3
55 to 64 years	20,952	18,603	9.5	9.1	+2,350	+12.6
65 years and over	24,658	19,972	11.2	9.8	+4,635	+23.5
Median age	30.0	27.9	—	—	—	—
WHITE						
All ages	190,329	179,065	100.0	100.0	+11,264	+6.3
Under 5 years	12,847	14,464	6.7	8.1	-1,617	-11.2
5 to 13 years	25,316	31,171	13.3	17.4	-5,855	-18.8
14 to 17 years	13,610	13,581	7.2	7.6	+29	+0.2
18 to 24 years	24,862	21,312	13.1	11.9	+3,550	+16.7
25 to 34 years	30,309	22,042	15.9	12.3	+8,267	+37.5
35 to 44 years	21,957	20,478	11.5	11.4	+1,478	+7.2
45 to 54 years	20,224	20,904	10.6	11.7	-680	-3.3
55 to 64 years	18,873	16,840	9.9	9.4	+2,033	+12.1
65 years and over	22,331	18,272	11.7	10.2	+4,059	+22.2
Median age	30.9	28.8	—	—	—	—
BLACK						
All ages	25,969	22,699	100.0	100.0	+3,270	+14.4
Under 5 years	2,386	2,434	9.2	10.7	-47	-1.9
5 to 13 years	4,618	5,009	17.8	22.1	-391	-7.8
14 to 17 years	2,356	2,073	9.1	9.1	+283	+13.7
18 to 24 years	3,820	2,798	14.7	12.3	+1,022	+36.5
25 to 34 years	3,900	2,709	15.0	11.9	+1,191	+44.0
35 to 44 years	2,696	2,408	10.4	10.6	+288	+11.9
45 to 54 years	2,320	2,115	8.9	9.3	+205	+9.7
55 to 64 years	1,831	1,608	7.0	7.1	+222	+13.8
65 years and over	2,041	1,544	7.9	6.8	+497	+32.2
Median age	24.6	22.4	—	—	—	—

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series p-25, No. 870, "Estimates of the Population, of the United States, by Age, Race and Sex: 1976 to 1979, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1980, p. 3.

TABLE A1-2. Educational Attainment of the Population by Selected Age Group and by Race 1970

Persons 25 years old and over
(Number in Thousands)

Race	*High School Graduate*		*Some College*		*4 or more years of college*	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Black	2,358	23	1,044	10	452	5.
White	34,493	35	20,832	22	11,380	12

Persons 25 years old to 34 years old
(Number in Thousands)

Race	*High School Graduate*		*Some College*		*4 or more years of college*	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Black	1,018	38	524	20	159	6
White	9,828	45	6,837	31.2	3,633	16.6

Source: Based on U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series p-20, No. 207, "Educational Attainment: March 1970," Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1970. ISEP staff calculations.

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